

Message Text

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TO WHITE HOUSE IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T STATE 302626

EXDIS DISTRIBUTE AS NODIS FOR DR BRZEZINSKI

FOLLOWING REPEAT TEL AVIV 10862 ACTION STATE INFO CAIRO DEC 20.

QUOTE S E C R E T TEL AVIV 10862

EXDIS (DISTRIBUGE AS NODIS)

CAIRO FOR AMBASSADOR AND ATHERTON

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PGOV, IS, EG

SUBJECT: SADAT/BEGIN NEGOTIATIONS: DAYAN'S MISGIVINGS

1. DURING CALL THIS MORNING (DECEMBER 20) ON FOREIGN
MINISTER DAYAN I CONGRATULATED HIM ON HIS ROLE AS GOD-
FATHER TO THE SO-CALLED BEGIN PLAN FOR THE FUTURE OF
THE WEST BANK. HE RESPONDED WRYLY THAT THE PLAN CERTAINLY
NEEDS A GODFATHER BECAUSE "IT IS NOT A SIMPLE MATTER
TO SELL SUCH A PLAN TO JORDAN AND THE OTHER ARABS."
SPEAKING WITH EMOTION (OR WAS IT IRONY) HE WENT ON TO
STRESS THE NEED FOR "MUCH MORE CAREFUL HANDLING THAN IT
HAS HAD IN RECENT DAYS." HE THOUGHT IT HAD NOT BEEN

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NECESSARY TO GIVE THE PLAN TO PEOPLE LIKE SENATOR JACKSON,
"BECAUSE ISRAEL DOES NOT NEED TO MAKE PEACE WITH THE U.S.
SENATE." RATHER, ISRAEL SHOULD BE FOCUSSING ON HOW BEST
TO GET THE PLAN ACCEPTED BY THE OTHER PARTIES. IF THE
ARABS FIND IT UNACCEPTABLE, IT WILL SIMPLY BECOME ANOTHER
DUSTY FILE LIKE THE ALLON PLAN. THE SUPPORT OF THE
AMERICAN PEOPLE, ALTHOUGH IMPORTANT, IS NOT ENOUGH.

2. HE ASKED WHAT OUR READING WAS OF SADAT'S FIRST REACTION. I SAID WE WERE THUS FAR SKIMPY ON DETAILS. ONE THING SEEMED CLEAR, HOWEVER. SADAT WOULD CONTINUE TO INSIST UPON A DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES BEFORE PROCEEDING MUCH FURTHER. SAID I WAS NOT AT ALL CLEAR HOW BEGIN INTENDED HANDLE THIS PROBLEM. BEFORE I COULD ASK HIM WHAT HE THOUGHT, HE ASTONISHED ME BY ASKING WHAT SUCH A DECLARATION WOULD INCLUDE: WOULD IT, FOR EXAMPLE, STATE THAT EGYPT COULD NOT ACCEPT THE CONTINUING PRESENCE OF THE IDF ON THE WEST BANK? I QUICKLY DECIDED THAT SINCE BEGIN HAD NOT SEEN FIT TO REVEAL THIS ELEMENT TO HIM, IT SHOULD NOT COME FROM ME, SO FINESSED MATTER BY SAYING THIS NOT YET CLEAR AND THAT I PRESUMED IT WOULD BE A PRINCIPLE SUBJECT OF DISCUSSION DURING THE DECEMBER 25 SADAT-BEGIN MEETING.

3. ASKED DAYAN IF HE FELT BEGIN WOULD BE THREATENED BY THE APPARENT DIFFERENCES WITHIN HIS OWN PARTY CONCERNING WEST BANK PLAN. DAYAN REPLIED THAT BEGIN CAN HANDLE HIS PARTY WITHOUT DIFFICULTY, UNLESS HE MAKES FURTHER CONCESSIONS. HE THEN COMMENTED RUEFULLY THAT THE PROBLEM FOR HIM WAS HE DID NOT KNOW THE DETAILS OF THE PRIME MINISTER'S DISCUSSIONS IN WASHINGTON. WAS SORELY TEMPTED TO TELL HIM I KNEW HOW HE FELT.

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4. DAYAN CONTINUED BY OBSERVING THAT REAL QUESTION NEEDING URGENT CONSIDERATION IS WHAT SADAT'S REACTION WILL BE IF JORDAN SAYS NO TO THE PLAN, IF THE PLO CONTINUES TO BE OUT OF THE PICTURE AT ISRAEL'S INSISTENCE, AND IF OTHER PALESTINIANS FROM THE TERRITORIES DO NOT PARTICIPATE IN THE NEGOTIATIONS. WITH WHOM WILL ISRAEL NEGOTIATE? IF OTHER ARAB STATES REJECT BEGIN'S PLAN, WHAT WILL BE THE EFFECT ON ISRAELI NEGOTIATIONS WITH EGYPT? THESE ARE THE CRITICAL PROBLEMS, HE MUSED, THAT ISRAEL IS GOING TO HAVE TO DEAL WITH IN THE COMING WEEKS.

5. COMMENT: DAYAN CLEARLY IS CHAGRINED THAT HE HAS BEEN CUT OUT OF THE NEGOTIATIONS AND THE DISCUSSIONS IN WASHINGTON. HIS ANXIETY TO LEARN THE DETAILS OF WHAT HAS HAPPENED IS TRANSPARENT. HE IS OBVIOUSLY ALSO WORRIES ABOUT THE IMPLICATIONS FOR FUTURE NEGOTIATIONS OF WHAT THE PRIME MINISTER HAS SAID OR MAY YET SAY.

6. DAYAN'S MOOD IS THAT OF A MAN WHO IS CONVINCED HE COULD HAVE DONE A FAR BETTER JOB THAN HIS BOSS. THE GLORY AND PUBLICITY THAT BEGIN HAS BROUGHT TO HIMSELF IN THE PAST FEW DAYS WHILE PURVEYING MUCH OF DAYAN'S

THINKING MUST ALSO BE THE SOURCE OF GREAT IRRITATION AND
FRUSTRATION. VIETS UNQUOTE VANCE

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